/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
195 15th century, the customary struggle for power among the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
195 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

195 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
195 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 619 631 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101]

1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 63 614 [101]

In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 648 619 631 /144 cont./ The Younger and Middle Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sovereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects. He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthening his power, which was tottering because of the enmity between the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 648 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

/199 cont./

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.
● 614 /200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 619 614 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun', Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
199 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
198 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situation (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
566 291 492 and especially in the years of "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

592 614 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy" (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

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622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master,
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however,
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the
livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic
use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order,
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already
begun to go out of usage).

ooc We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that
is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous,
and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

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175 of the modern Iranians, who conquered nameless aborigines five hundred years before the present era. The Scythians were later overwhelmed by Huns coming from the east, who were followed by Greeks under Alexander the Great, Persians (Parthians, Sogdians, Bactrians), Mongolian hordes (Hephthalites), Avars, Arabs, Turks, and Turko-Mongols again in successive onslaughts, and finally by Russians in the 19th century.

The predominant life pattern of these peoples is nomadic pastoralism. The classic habitat of nomadism is the Asiatic steppe, and the classic practitioners are the Turks and Mongols. In the course of the past thousand years, many herders have gone over to farming as a more efficient form of land utilization wherever climate and soil factors have permitted it. Farming enables more people to get a living out of less land than does herding. The fertile valleys and oases of Central Asia, coupled with the example of earlier Asiatic peoples, have encouraged many of the Turks to make this transition. Indeed, the history of Asia can be interpreted as a history of the relations between herders and farmers, each of whom needs and trades for the products of the other; conquests and wars result from the breakdown of this traditional symbiotic relationship.

K
[614] The various peoples of the region have archaic forms of social organization. However ancient and extensive their states and empires, it is the tie of blood which unites a people. Theoretically, all Kazakhs are descended in the male line from a common ancestor, as are the Uzbeks and the Mongols. The societies and nations of the region are composed of an intricate web of relationships which are partly blood ties and partly political ties. The fact of descent from the ancestor of all Kazakhs determines a man's "Kazakhhood"; the fact that all Kazakhs once formed a single nation likewise determines his membership in Kazakh society.

The modern era of relative chaos on the steppes of Asia began with the death of Tamerlane and the collapse of his empire early in the 15th century. He ruled over the last of the great empires which had drawn their strength from nomadic warriors and had dominated Central Asia for so many centuries. His death marked the end of this long period of political integration; instead of one great and inclusive Turkic nation on the steppe, there began the age of particularisms which continued down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century. Parallel processes were at work in Europe at this time, but, unlike Europe, the local patriotisms and local loyalties on the steppe had no fixed territories, boundaries, or capital cities.

All the great cities of Central Asia lie outside the steppe in the surrounding fertile valleys. These cities—Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar—were once world-famous for their splendor, and their mention still leaves a ring of ancient glory. They were centers of learning, of administration, of trade and caravan entrepots, of bazaars, of arts and handicrafts. During the chaotic period from the 15th to the 19th centuries they failed to achieve domination over the steppe, nor did the herdsmen of the steppe win power over them. Thus the period between the recession of the great nomadic empires and the Russian conquest and engulfment was a time of intermittent wars and uneasy peace. These troubled

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its pureat form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1] See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable
[567] social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 C02 [565] These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 [622] Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage
[588] was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 [614] [598] Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[622] [592] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alkyasaria, 1870, p. 104.

4 [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]
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judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radlov (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Vvedin, 1864, pp. 3-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[1] Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 1-11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bŭks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      Sikhym
      Jamys
      Tümir
      Shymyr
      Botpai
      Kurulus
      Büsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      Sirgüli
      Ysty
      Otakshy
      Jalair
      Shapas
      Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      Kara kesük
      Shar Jitim
      Janshar
      Tört aul with aa) Atygai
                    bb) Altai
                    cc) Terbish
                    dd) Tabakty
      Borshy
      Karpak
      Basüntin
      Agysh Kalkanam
      Kanjygaly
      Kosugan
      Kök shal
   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      Bulatty
      Türs tamgaly
      Baganaly
      Sadyr
      Ergünükti
   c) Tribe Kypchak
   d) Tribe Kirüi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kurüi with the clans:
         Jantykai
         Jadyk
         Shirüshi

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/The Kazakh Nation/

Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itüngmün
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kiräi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitäi
Tört kara
Shümököi
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jätti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptä
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Telätä
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

[Little Horde]

161 1876 and 1885; the Lesser Horde contained 150,000 to 160,000 families, and the Inner Horde about 30,000.[175] This represents about a 20 percent increase over the figure given for the Little Horde alone in 1830 of 177 160,000 families by Levshin.[176] The Little and Inner Hordes were closest to European Russia, and had been the longest of all in close contact with the Russians; the degree of acculturation was not different in any marked manner from that of the Middle Horde Kazakhs. Because of the readier accessibility of the Little Horde, however, we have fuller data on certain aspects of their social structure and kinship relations than we have for the more distantly situated hordes.

614 The clans of the Little Horde, as those of all the other hordes, were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent from a common ancestor; this ancestor sometimes gave his name to the clan; otherwise the clan name was drawn from the stock of names which are associated with glorious events, great traditions designed to inspire the Kazakh warriors to emulate those who bore that name in the past. One clan name in the Little Horde was Yappas, a derivation from the name Japhet, the son of Noah, who appears over again in Kazakh etymologies; other clan

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[175] Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304. The lower estimate is that of von Hellwald, 20. Schuyler and Lansdell gathered their materials through interviewing local officials.

[176] Levshine, 300.

614 names are Argun, Kipchak, Kirei, all of which occur elsewhere in Kazakh clan lists, and which take their origin in the traditions associated with Chingis Khan. These names also appear in the Secret History of the Mongols, and continue to evoke a militant morale among the steppe dwellers.[177]

614 701 The close association of the clan with military organisation implied by these considerations is further evidenced by the identification of the clans with their uran, the clan passwords or countersigns, which consisted either of the name of the eponymous clan ancestor or of an illustrious warrior generally among the clan forebears, and was used to cheer the warrior in battle, invoke the aid of clansmen in the fray, or to celebrate a victorious outcome.[178] The clan was closely associated with war, and had among its most important functions the constitution of a military unit.

614 The clan had its special tamga which it stamped on the left thigh of the cattle of the clansmen. These were not property signs but were simply means of distinguishing among the cattle of various clans. The clan embodied the same structural principles found at work throughout Kazakh society, in larger-scale units as well as smaller: it was based on the principle of agnatic re-

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[177] Balliusek, 164.

[178] Idem.

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

582 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's.[179] Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

582 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the
613 eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[179] Altynsarin, 104.

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
this connection is that taifa[1] is of Arabic origin, in-
[177.61] troduced into the Turkic social organization through
the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is
a bineme composed of the words for father and for child,
thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patri-
[614] lineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in
the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga.
These tamga were not property marks, they were clan
signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions,
becoming the named units to which people attributed mem-
bership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand,
many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the
process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the
clan leader was selected by the central administration.
The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the
debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the
clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa.

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

[1] [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 96, bot. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 this function was taken over by the lineage. Here we can say that the clan could continue to be the unit of exogamy in those cases where it was co-terminous with the lineage, and was so even in the 20th century, as indeed it had been at times in the past. But the lineage, or sub-lineage, was the normal unit of exogamy and had been before Kharuzin's day, and continued to be afterward.

614 [611] 608 The clan was no longer[1] responsible for the crimes of a clan-member; that it had been in the past is shown by the wergeld relationship, regarding the collection of the wergeld for transmission and its distribution on receipt. It was possible to change clan affiliation; indeed this exemplifies beautifully the principle of the fictive descent, whereby on joining another clan one was given the genealogy of the new clan, the conditio sine qua non for membership in the new clan. One of the most frequent reasons for leaving one's clan and joining a new one according to Kharuzin was to escape punishment; but this reason is self-defeating, since the clan of asylum might not want responsibility for the fugitive and could demand the return of the new arrival to his old clan; in fact the notion contradicts Kharuzin's point that the clan had no responsibility for its members' activities.[238]

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[238] Ibid., 44-45.

[1] [i.e. in the 19th century. Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 496-498 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

● 614 Another principle of social structure is illus-
619 trated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that
601 of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

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[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

614 619 601 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan [177.61] decline generally, 1A as part of the acculturation picture, are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

43 561 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is: the ak sŭŏk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were [177.56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a genealogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 619 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Elata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 614 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi 1/A line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŭŏk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu, 1/A a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[280]

[280] Samoilovich, 306.

1/A [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, #.524-526--Analyst]

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[Altai Kazakhs]

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I	Naiman	VIII	Oletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekshardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Boramchy	XII	Emu
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	M. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylised manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, M. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; M. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

[1] [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman; cf. cat. no. 6, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]

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genealogies of these people compiled by outstanding investigators in the past, Aristov and Tynyshpaev. According to Tynyshpaev, Ergenekti had two sons, Kekzhardy and Karatai, whereas Samoilovich reports them respectively as father, son and grandson. Above we have seen that in Kazakh kinship nomenclature, Fa Ol Br may bear the same term as Fa Fa, ata; and Fa Yo Br may bear the same term as Ol Br, aga. There is thus really no contradiction between Tynyshpaev and Samoilovich; it is solely a matter of what the end in view of the genealogist was, and which generation he took as his point of reference. Let us consider first the generation reference point: assuming that Kekzhardy was senior and Karatai the cadet; in this case, the son of Karatai, Boranchy, would call Kekzhardy ata regardless of whether he was his Fa Ol Br, i.e., Karatai's Ol Br, or Karatai's Fa, i.e., Boranchy's Fa Fa. This is viewed from the standpoint of the next descending generation, i.e., from Karatai. Assuming, on the other hand, that Karatai was senior and Kekzhardy the cadet, Karatai would have been called aga by Kekzhardy; likewise, Karatai's son, Boranchy, would have called Kekzhardy aga, Fa Yo Br, so that the denotation of the term would coalesce from the viewpoint of the generation succeeding Boranchy. This telescoping and expanding of the genealogy ad libitam is made possible by the intricate

603 system of generation up-grading and down-grading in the
614 terminology.

Let us now consider the problem of the end in view of the genealogist. This man was Samoilovich's informant, the aul and lineage elder, M. Chamov, who was establishing a direct senior descent from the lineage founder, Karatai, and the senior descent of the Karatai lineage in the Ergenekti clan; in his conception, the line proceeded directly from Ergenekti to Kekzhardy and thence to Karatai, and no allusion to any cadet line whatsoever was made. This he did by asserting that Boranchy had indeed called Kekzhardy ata, but in the sense of Fa Fa, and not Fa Ol Br, a claim which was certainly in keeping with, and not contradicted by the system of kinship terminology. Thus a genealogy is propounded not merely to establish a descent group as such, nor merely to validate a claim to membership in that descent group, but also to assert certain rights of the descent group as over against other possible claimants in the matter of seniority, and the correlative leadership, prestige and precedence. Moreover, the genealogy is closely related to the ritual number seven, or twice seven. Again, the lineage of Karatai is composed of a number of sublineages, including the Sargaldak, Döilöt, Shong-murun and Kendje-Chagyr; of these the Sargaldak is proposed by Chamov as the senior one, that being Chamov's own

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614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1/A] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), sŭŏk, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the sŭŏk were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The sŭŏk might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the sŭŏk corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

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[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

1/A [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff.--Analyst]

613 177.4 565

tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity which can best be shown by examining units smaller than the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 422

The chaotic situation in which the larger descent groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏk, of the byr top.[265]

613 177.61 601 [631]

Acculturative influences, both economic and political in manifestation, have acted to deprive the Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŏien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 component extended family or close-kin groups for the
233 summer movement.[274] These auls, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 The auls of the poor were generally larger than
[556] those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral,
621 wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All
●614 these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sŏk founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

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[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

621 624 the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

233 The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.[277] The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.[278] The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass-growth is favored by the snow-melt.[279]

621 233 A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an aul might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter and summer camp is from about 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps kokteu and fall camps kuzou.[280]

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[277] Rudenko, op. cit., 72.

[278] Ibid., 8.

[279] Ibid., 72.

[280] Ibid., 4-8.